1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Doctels*; because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mëdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

of this pompous title. They are a set of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe, as I have already said, to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits.

These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots, and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions to a superior knowledge, and by the impudence with which they impose upon the credulous. I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners. They pretend that there are disorders which cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, and to the treatment of which the talents of common physicians are inadequate. They say that when a complaint has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures must be taken to defeat the designs of the person who bewitched the unfortunate patient. This can only be done by removing or destroying the deleterious or deadening substance which has been conveyed into them, or, if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region from whence he may never return.

When the juggler has succeeded in persuading his patient that his disorder is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavour to convince him of the necessity of making him *very strong*,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

which means, giving him *a large fee*, which he will say, is justly due to a man who, like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies, is rich, the *Doctor* will never fail, whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his *honorarium*, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle-gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the Doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labour as if he was about to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all round him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapt in thought and meditation and enjoys for a while the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines which he has prepared in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

The visits of the juggler are, if the patient requires it, repeated from time to time; not, however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit. This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhaust-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

755 ed, or until he resolves upon calling in another doctor, with whom feeing must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

When at length the art of the juggling tribe has after repeated trials proved ineffectual, the patient is declared *incurable*. The doctors will say, that he applied to them too late, that he did not exactly follow their prescriptions, or sometimes, that he was bewitched by one of the greatest masters of the science, and that unless a professor can be found possessed of superior knowledge, he is doomed to die or linger in pain beyond the power of relief.

Thus these jugglers carry on their deceit, and enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous and foolish. I have known instances in which they declared a patient perfectly cured and out of all danger, who nevertheless died of his disorder a very few days afterwards, although his doctors affirmed that the evil spirit or the effects of witchcraft were entirely removed from him; on the other hand, I have seen cases in which the patient recovered after being pronounced incurable and condemned to die. In those cases, however, he had had the good sense to apply to some of the honest physicians of one or the other sex, who had relieved him by a successful application of their medicines.

756 The jugglers' dress, when in the exercise of their functions, exhibits a most frightful sight. I had no idea of the importance of these men, until by accident I met with one, habited in his full costume. As I was once walking through the street of a large Indian village on the Muskingum, with the chief *Gelelemend*, whom we called *Killbuck*, one of those monsters suddenly came out of the house next to me, at whose sight I was so frightened, that I flew immediately to the other side of the chief, who observing my agitation and the quick strides I made, asked me what was the matter, and what I thought it was that I saw before me. "By its outward appearance,"

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

answered I, "I would think it a bear, or some such fe- 756
"rocious animal, what is *inside* I do not know, but ra-
"ther judge it to be the *evil Spirit.*" My friend Kill-
buck smiled, and replied "O! no, no; don't believe
"that! it is a man you well know, it is our *Doctor.*" "A
"Doctor! said I, what! a human being to transform
"himself so as to be taken for a bear walking on his
"hind legs, and with horns on his head? You will not,
"surely, deceive me; if it is not a bear, it must be some
"other ferocious animal that I have never seen before."
The juggler within the dress hearing what passed be-
tween us, began to act over some of his curious pranks,
probably intending to divert me, as he saw I was looking
at him with great amazement, not unmixed with fear; but [825]
the more he went on with his performance, the more I
was at a loss to decide, whether he was a human be-
ing or a bear; for he imitated that animal in the greatest
perfection, walking upright on his hind legs as I had
often seen it do. At last I renewed my questions to the
chief, and begged him seriously to tell me what that fi-
gure was, and he assured me that although outside it had
the appearance of a bear, yet inside there was a man,
and that it was our doctor going to visit one of his pa-
tients who was bewitched. A dialogue then ensued be-
tween us, which I shall relate, as well as I can recollect
it, in its very words:

HECKEW. But why does he go dressed in that man-
ner? Won't his patient be frightened to death on seeing
him enter the house?

KILLB. No! indeed, no; it is the disorder, the evil spi-
rit, that will be frightened away; as to the sick man, he
well knows that unless the doctor has recourse to the
most powerful means, he cannot be relieved, but must
fall a sacrifice to the wicked will of some evil person.
And, pray, don't your doctors in obstinate and dubious
cases, also recur to powerful means in order to relieve
their patients?

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

HECKEW. To my knowledge, there are no cases where witchcraft is assigned as the cause of a disorder, of course our doctors have nothing to do with that; and though they may sometimes have occasion to apply powerful remedies in obstinate diseases, yet it is not done by dressing themselves like wild beasts, to frighten, as you say, the disorder away. Were our doctors to adopt this mode, they would soon be left without patients and without bread; they would starve.

KILLB. Our doctors are the richest people among us, they have every thing they want; fine horses to ride, fine clothes to wear, plenty of strings and belts of wampum, and silver arm and breast plates in abundance.

HECKEW. And *our* doctors have very fine horses and carriages, fine houses, fine clothes, plenty of good provisions and wines, and plenty of money besides! They are looked upon as gentlemen, and would not suffer your doctor, dressed as he is, to come into their company.

KILLB. You must, my friend! consider that the cases are very different. Had the white people sorcerers among them as the Indians have, they would find it necessary to adopt our practice and apply our remedies in the same manner that our doctors do. They would find it necessary to take strong measures to counteract and destroy the dreadful effects of witchcraft.

HECKEW. The sorcerers that you speak of exist only in your imagination; rid yourselves of this, and you will hear no more of them.

The dress this juggler had on, consisted of an entire garment or outside covering, made of one or more bear skins, as black as jet, so well fitted and sewed together, that the man was not in any place to be perceived. The whole head of the bear, including the mouth, nose, teeth, ears, &c. appeared the same as when the animal was living; so did the legs with long claws; to this were added a huge pair of horns on the head, and behind a large

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave."[79]

---

[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217, Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

The Otter Medicine

The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. I.
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union 756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre- 756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström, 755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has 763 evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755
[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

General Manners and Customs

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in Lindeström, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 John Johnston—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

Captain Pipe—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŏmween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail al-
[796] tŏgether, they always use the left hand.

Captain Chipps—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuzin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Witapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (mət-e'i-nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

---

[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuzin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maxtuw'alqgw, of the expression muxk'xoltuw'alqgw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).